

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00
EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 ACDA-07 NRC-05 OES-07 FEAE-00
ERDA-05 /147 W

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R 160932Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5422
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 11506

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG US IN
SUBJECT: PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS - VISIT OF AMBASSADOR WELLS
AND POLCOUNS PETREE

1. AMBASSADOR WELLS AND PETREE, ACCOMPANIED BY POLCOUNS
SCHAFFER AND POLOFF BUCZACKE MET AUGUST 12 WITH MEA OFFICIALS
TO REVIEW UNGA POLITICAL ISSUES. REPRESENTING THE GOI WERE
SECRETARY M. A. VELLODI, JOINT SECRETARIES N.P. JAIN (UN
AND CONFERENCE DIVISION), A. G. ASRANI (AMERICA DIVISION),
AND A.K. DAMODARAN (POLICY PLANNING AND REVIEW DIVISION),
VINAY VERMA, DIRECTOR (POLITICAL), UN AND CONFERENCE
DIVISION, AND VEENA SIKRI, UNDERSECRETARY, UN AND CONFERENCE
DIVISION. BASED ON INDICATIONS OF PARTICULAR GOI INTEREST,
THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPAL AREAS WERE COVERED IN AN INFORMAL,
CORDIAL AND CANDID EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

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2. COMMITTEE IV. PETREE OUTLINED THE US ASSESSMENT OF
LIKELY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT THE RESUMED 31ST AND
32ND UNGAS, STRESSING OUR DESIRE TO AVOID CONFRONTA-
TIONS WHICH COULD INTERFERE WITH ON-GOING NEGOTIATIONS
ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE INDIANS
AGREED THAT UNGA PROCEEDINGS WOULD DEPEND SUBSTANTIALY
ON THE DEGREE OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN CURRENT

NEGOTIATING EFFORTS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. IN HIS PRESENTATION, PETREE TRACED THE US/WESTERN EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A NEW BASIS FOR DIALOGUE WITH AFRICA AND THE NON-ALIGNED, FROM THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES TO THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE AND NEGOTIATION INITIATIVES STILL IN PROGRESS ON ZIMBABWE, AND THE BROAD OUTLINE OF THE STATUS OF THESE EFFORTS, NOTING LACK OF INFORMATION OF THE MOST RECENT CONTACTS WITH SWAPO.

3. THE INDIANS EVIDENCED INTENSE INTEREST IN OUR AFRICAN INITIATIVES. THEY SPOKE WITHOUT RESERVATION OF THEIR BELIEF THAT THE US AND WESTERN POWERS HAVE ALREADY ESTABLISHED CREDIBILITY AMONG AFRICANS IN THEIR INTENTIONS AND THE SERIOUSNESS OF THEIR EFFORTS. THE INDIANS ARE LESS SURE THE CORNER HAS BEEN TURNED WITH THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, BUT THEY AGREED THAT THE LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE OF THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS CONTINUES TO BE CRUCIAL. THEY ASSURED US THAT INDIA REMAINED EAGER TO WORK WITH US IN SUPPORT OF OUR EFFORTS, AS THEY HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DO UP TIL NOW. THEY URGED THAT WE CONTINUE TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH IN NEW YORK TO FACILITATE THE SUPPORTIVE ROLE OF INDIA.

4. JAIN SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN SUSTAINING PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA AND FORESTALLING EXTREME UN
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RESOLUTIONS, PARTICULARLY ON NAMIBIA, IF THE UNGA TOOK FAVORABLE NOTE OF THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN CURRENT TALKS. PETREE REFERRED AGAIN TO THE IMPORTANCE OF CURRENT RESULTS IN SETTING THE TONE OF UNGA TREATMENT OF THESE ISSUES, SUGGESTING THAT IT IS STILL PREMATURE TO MAP ANY SPECIFIC UNGA TACTICS. HE ALSO DISCUSSED THE RECURRENT PROBLEM OF JUDGING WHEN A UN ACTION ENCOURAGES PROGRESS AND WHEN IT INTERFERES IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS, URGING GOI SENSITIVITY TO THE TOTAL EFFECT OF SUCH ACTIONS ON THE NEGOTIATIONS.

5. DAMODARAN ASKED SPECIFICALLY ABOUT US INTENTIONS VIS-A-VIS SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID. PETREE REVIEWED THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S STRONG STANCE AND IN PARTICULAR VICE-PRESIDENT MAONDALE'S CLEAR-CUT STATEMENTS. BOTH TO VORSTER AND PUBLICLY TO THE WORLD. HE SAID THE US IS SERIOUS AND INTENDS TO WORK STEADILY AT THIS PROBLEM. DAMODARAN DESCRIBED HIS VIEW OF THE EXPECTATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS THAT CHANGE COULD BE CONTROLLED TO A GLACIAL SLOWNESS. HE DESCRIBED ACCURATELY THE NATURE OF CHANGE THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE US POSITION IN RECENT MONTHS AND SAID HE THOUGHT

THE US ALREADY HAD MADE THE SOUTH AFRICANS A LITTLE
LESS SECURE IN THEIR CONFIDENCE ABOUT THE LIKELY PACE
OF CHANGE. HE URGED THAT WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO
IMPRESS SOUTH AFRICA WITH THE EXTENT OF ITS REAL
ISOLATION IN THE WORLD. PETREE URGED INDIA TO HELP
IN THIS PROCESS.

6. MIDDLE EAST. JAIN SAID THAT ISRAEL COULD NOT HOPE
FOR A GENEVA CONFERENCE WITHOUT PLO PARTICIPATION IN
SOME FORM. HE SUGGESTED THAT RECENT HARD-LINE ISRAELI
STATEMENTS ARE FOR THE MOMENT MORE LIKELY TO BE
BARGAINING PLOYS RATHER THAN FINAL POSITIONS. HE SAID
PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S TOUGH ANTI-PLO STATEMENT ON THE
EVE OF ECOSOC'S CONSIDERATION OF PLO MEMBERSHIP IN ECWA
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RESULTED IN THE PLO'S ADMISSION TO THAT ORGANIZATION.
PETREE SUGGESTED THAT THERE IS STILL A STRONG CURRENT
OF OPINION AMONG MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES IN FAVOR OF
A GENEVA CONFERENCE. HE SAID THAT SECRETARY VANCE'S
PROPOSAL FOR PRE-GENEVA WORKING GROUPS MAY BE AN
INTERESTING AND PRODUCTIVE SUGGESTION. MUCH WILL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 11506

DEPEND ON PROGRESS IN THESE CURRENT MOVES IN DETERMINING THE UNGA ATMOSPHERE ON THE MIDDLE EAST. JAIN AGREED THAT SEVERAL OF THE TRADITIONAL UNGA DEBATES ON THE MIDDLE EAST ARE LIKELY TO GO AHEAD IN ANY EVENT. HE SAID THEY KNOW OF NEW ARAB INITIATIVES IN PREPARATION.

7. INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE (IOZP). JAIN WELCOMED THE US/SOVIET TALKS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN AND WONDERED IF THEY MIGHT PROVIDE SOME INPUT INTO THE UNGA'S CONSIDERATION OF THE IOZP CONCEPT. PETREE NOTED THAT THE US/SOVIET DISCUSSIONS, ON WHICH THE GOI HAD ALREADY BEEN BRIEFED, DID NOT COVER THE SAME GRAOUND AS THE UNGA'S DEBATE; HOWEVER, HE DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE US AND THE USSR MIGHT MAKE SOME STATEMENT DURING THE UNGA ABOUT THEIR TALKS. (NOTE: CONFIDENTIAL

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STATE 190665 NOT RECEIVED UNTIL AFTER MEETING.) JAIN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR OUR EFFORT TO KEEP THEM INFORMED AND URGED THAT THE IOZP IDEA NOT BE LOST AMIDST "LAND-BASED QUESTIONS" (PRESUMABLY SOVIET INSTALLATIONS IN EAST AFRICA). HE SAID THAT PAKISTAN HAS BEEN TRYING TO CONFUSE THE IOZP WITH OTHER ISSUES, E.G., "INDIAN HEGEMONY" AND A "NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE". HE NOTED THE NEED FOR PRIOR CONSULTATIONS AMONG REGIONAL NEIGHBORS BEFORE EVEN A "NUCLEAR WEAPONS-FREE ZONE" COULD BE FRUITFULLY DISCUSSED AT THE UN, SAYING: " YOU CANNOT TALK OF A NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONE WITH A NUCLEAR POWER SITTING ON YOUR HEAD". VERMA POINTED OUT THAT THE GOAL OF THE IOZP CONCEPT IS TO ELIMINATE SUPERPOWER RIVLARY FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN. HE ENVISIONED A CONFERENCE ON THE SUBJECT, UNDER UN AUSPICES, WITH PARTICIPATION OF THE SUPERPOERS AND OTHER MAJOR MARITIME COUNTRIES. INDIA WAS IN NO PARTICULAR HURRY FOR THE CONFERENCE TO TAKE PLACE, HE SAID, BUT WHEN IT WAS CONVENED INDIA WANTED IT TO BE SUCCESSFUL. HE NOTED THAT THE RECNET NEW DELHI MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED BUREAU HAD PRODUCED NO CONDEMNATION OF THE SUPERPOWERS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE IOZP CONCEPT.

8. COMMITTEE OF 24. PETREE NOTED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE COMMITTEE OF 24 MIGHT AGAIN TAKE UP THE MATTER OF THE STAUS OF PUERTO RICO. HE ASKED INDIA TO CONTINUE

ASSISTING US IN SPREADING UNDERSTANDING OF THE US
POSITION AMONG MEMBERS OF THE C-24 AND COMMITTEE IV.
JAIN COMMENTED THAT THE GOI FULLY UNDERSTANDS THE US
POSITION AND RECALLED THAT INDIA HAD BEEN A MODERATING
FORCE IN DISCUSSIONS OF THIS TOPIC AT NON-ALIGNED FORUMS,
MOST RECENTLY AT THE MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED BUREAUS
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IN NEW-DELHI.

9. ILO. THE INDIAN SIDE REMARKED THAT US WITHDRAWAL
FROM THE ILO WOULD BE A "SAD THING" AND A "DISASTER".
JAIN NOTED THAT THE POLITICIZATION THE US DEPLORES IN
UN FORUMS IS NOT LIMITED TO THE ILO. HE QUESTIONED
HOW US WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ILO COULD BE SQUARED WITH
THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S DESIRE FOR A MORE ACTIVE
US ROLE IN THE UN. THE PROBLEMS OF THE ILO WERE
ROOTED IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION; IMPROVE THAT
SITUATION AND THE ILO'S PROBLEMS CAN BE SORTED OUT. HE
PREDICTED THAT A US "REJECTION" OF THE ILO WOULD
CONTRIBUTE TO A CONFRONTATIONAL CLIMATE IN OTHER UN
ORGANS. INDIA, FOR ITS PART, HE SAID, WAS WILLING TO
TRY TO PERSUADE THE G-77 THAT THE ILO AND OTHER
SPECIALIZED FORUMS SHOULD CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH ISSUES
PROPERLY WITHIN THEIR PURVIEWS. THE INDIANS FAILED TO
FACE UP TO THEIR PERFORMANCE IN GENEVA THIS SUMMER ON
THE ILO QUESTION.

10. MISCELLANEOUS. IN CONCLUDING THE MEETINGS, VELLODI
QUICKLY TOUCHED ON SEVERAL SUBJECTS:
-- HE SAW CYPRUS AS POSSIBLY PRESENTING AN EXTREMELY
DIFFICULT PROBLEM DURING THE UPCOMING UNGA, IN PART
BECAUSE OF CURRENT INSTABILITY IN THE GREEK COMMUNITY;
-- INDIA REMAINS CONVINCED THAT NORTH KOREA IS UNLIKELY
TO REINTRODUCE ITS RESOLUTION IN THE UNGA; THE INDIAN
ASSESSMENT IS BASED ON BROAD SOUNDINGS AMONG THE
NON-ALIGNED AND OTHERS, INCLUDING JAPAN, BUT NOT
DIRECTLY WITH THE NORTH KOREANS;
--HE EXPECTED A LOW KEY DISCUSSION OF DISARMAMENT
IS COMMITTEE I BECAUSE OF THE UPCOMING SPECIAL
SESSION ON DISARMAMENT.

11. HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION IS SUBJECT OF SEPTTEL.
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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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